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termed "without parallel in history."[7] The most devastated area was in the middle of the Yangtze River Valley, particularly Hupeh, Hunan, and Kiangsi.

The Land Reform Movement in Central-South China was begun in 1950 and all but completed in 1952. In 1953 a re-investigation was ordered. As a result, 23,000 more landowners were purged. Of this number, about 5,000 were put to death, and the remaining 18,000 either went to jail or to "Reform-through-labor" camps. A large number of landowners were victims of land reform in the Central-South during 1950-53.[8]

III. COMMUNIST RELIEF AND WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS

After the Hwai River flood of 1949, the Central Relief Committee was formed (February 1950) under the Government Administration Council as a temporary but integral part of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Later, similar committees were set up in the provinces and municipalities. Their existence, on the whole, has been in name only, according to an anti-Communist report, and it is

7. Survey of China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, American Consulate General, No. 962, Jan. 6, 1955, pp. 18-20.

8. Ch'ih K'ung-pu-hsia Ti Hu-pei [Hupeh Under Red Terror], 6th Section of the Central Committee of the Nationalist Party, Taipei, 1954, pp. 16-20.

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of the forces for national defense; (2) production and reconstruction; (3) preparations for land reform; (4) financial reform and reinforcement of the economy; (5) establishment of representative bodies for the consolidation of the people's political power; and (6) establishment of cultural and educational programs and the training of cadre members.

The people of the Central-South Region and the cadres which had been recruited were ordered to mobilize as if for war in order to speed reconstruction. Under the first point given above, emphasis was placed upon the strengthening of the army to increase its efficiency. Under the second point, emphasis was placed on the rehabilitation of light industries, although this program necessitated reforms in currency, communications, and commerce.[7] No less important were the projects involving agriculture and irrigation.

The initial economic policies in the Central-South China Region seemed moderate if we judge from the measured ordered. Labor-management were to be conducted through collective bargaining and arbitration; business-accounting methods were to be used and waste was eliminated. Finally, technical experts were to be employed, with the aim of mass production of goods of high quality at low cost.

In the field of agriculture, during the period of transition before the Land Reform Movement began, "landlords" and rich peasants were to be allowed to continue to collect rents from their tenants, although the rents were to be reduced by 25 per cent. "Landlords" were to grant loans to their tenants. "Landlords" would not be allowed to divide their property or sell

7. Ibid., pp. 609-11.

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any part of it, and they would be subject to fine or imprisonment if they killed their cattle or destroyed horses. When transfer of land took place, all crops harvested were to go to those who had sown the seeds. These proposals seem moderate, and very probably they were meant to be so when they were initiated by Lin Piao, who knew that there was certain to be considerable resistance to the policy of land confiscation. However, the transition period before land reform was to be short. Lin Piao proposed that land reform in the provinces of Hunan, Kiangsi, and Kwangtung should be completed in 1951. Several other temporary measures instituted during the transition period are worth mentioning. Industrial and commercial enterprises belonging to "landlords" were in no way to be curtailed. After the estates of the "landlords" had been confiscated, they were to be given exactly the same amount of land as that given the poor peasants. And, rather surprisingly, unnecessary violence was not to be used against the "landlords" if they resisted the confiscation of property.[8]

III. ABOLITION OF THE MILITARY AND AND POLITICAL COMMITTEE

In the year 1952, a resolution changing the status and the name of the regional Military and Political Committee was passed by the Peking Government. The military governor of the region had assumed too much authority in the administration of government affairs. After the Committee had been abolished, the provincial govern-

8. Ibid., pp. 611-13.

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involved 21,900,000 members, or 73 per cent of the total population of 30,000,000. Among the workers in twleve cities and the laborers employed at the Hsin Yü coal mines, 71,711, or 47 per cent, of a total of 152,613 men, were members of the trade union.[10]

In ten hsiang in Chia county, 223 landlord families and 283 rich peasant families, 9 per cent of the population of 5,863 families, owned more than 1,900 mou (about 316 acres) of land before the "Liberation" -- 49 per cent of the land in the ten hsiang. Although the anti-despot movement and the rent-reduction movement had reduced their holdings, the average acreage owned by "landlords" and "rich peasants" remained nearly twice as much as that owned by the peasants and hired farmers. After reform, the average amount of land owned by the "landlord" became 1.46 mou (about 1/6 of an acre), that of the poor peasants was raised to 1.5 mou, that of the rich peasants to 1.9 mou, and that of the middle peasants was increased from 2 mou to 2.7 mou.[11] These figures suggest how sweeping the land reform movement was. Land reform was of first importance to the Communist regime because its inauguration gained the support of the peasants who formed the majority of the population.

Hupeh Province, in the Yangtze Valley, has a greater concentration of industry than the neighboring Honan Province. As in other provinces, land reform became a major part of the Communist program in Hupeh. Li Hsien-nien, chairman of Hupeh, reported that the movement for rent re-

10. Ibid., p. 828.
11. Ibid., p. 828.

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duction was successfully concluded about October 1950, and that approximately 206,500,000 catties (227,150,000 lbs.) of rice had been refunded to poor tenant farmers. Peasants' associations, with a total membership of 4,141,466, were organized in 15,175 hsiang throughout the province. One-fourth of the members were women. As a result of the organization of the peasants' associations, the power of government passed into the hands of Communist officials in 5,190 hsiang, although in the remaining 9,985 hsiang the change was only a partial one.[12]

Since the Chinese Communists well knew that popular support was necessary for a strong government, they had the wisdom to establish the Peasants' Association, which in a certain way worked as an informal representatives' conference before the regime was able to establish a formal one in each hsiang or county.

Wang Shou-tao, chairman of Hunan Province, mentioned in his report of June 1950[13] that there were 14,830 hsiang in the province, and that Peasants' Associations had been formed in 19,564 hsiang, with a total membership of 5,730,000. Chin Ming, chairman of the Land Reform Committee of Hunan, reported in October 1950 that, because there were 28,000,000 people in the two municipalities and 77 counties of Hunan, it would be necessary to limit land reform to 33 counties with a total population of 17,000,000. He expected that within a year or two the work of land reform could be completed.

12. Li Hsien-nien, "Hu-pei-sheng Jen-min Cheng-fu I-nien-lai Shih-cheng Pao-kao Yu Chin-hou Jen-wu ["Report on Last Year's Administration and Future Tasks of the Hupeh People's Government'], Ibid., p. 862.

13. [following page] .

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There are 99 counties and three municipalities, with a total population of 27,460,000, in Kwangtung Province. The vice-chairman, Fang Fang, reported that, of this number, 19,210,000 were peasants. A table released by Chen Han-sen, a research fellow of sociology and economics at the Academia Sinica, was quoted by Fang Fang,[17] as follows: 30 per cent of the arable land in Kwangtung Province was designated as a source of family revenue for the ancestor-temple; 23 per cent of the arable land was owned by 110,000 landlord families ; 13 per cent was owned by 220,000 rich farmer families; 13 per cent was owned by 1,090,000 families of the middle peasantry; and 19 per cent was owned by poor and hired peasants in 4,040,000 families. These figures, Fang Fang maintained, showed the inequality of land distribution; 53 per cent of the arable land was owned by the landlord families, who constituted only 2 per cent of the total number of families in the province. Fang Fang said: "The People's Government must take a cautious attitude because this area was late in being liberated and because its geographical position is too remote to be influenced by the older liberated areas. Furthermore, the proximity of this province to Hong Kong and Macao makes it more accessible to bandits and spies who are always trying to stir up disturbances.[18] The people of Kwangtung are not so submissive as those in other provinces, in spite of the fact that much propaganda work had beendone by the Communist regime to induce them to accept land reform.

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17. Fang Fang, "Kuan-yu Kuang-tung T'u-ti Kai-ko Wen-t'i Ti Pao-kao" ["Report on Land Reform in Kwangtung Province"] , Ibid., p. 938.

18. Ibid., pp. 941-42.

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The establishment of Communist power in the rural areas can be divided into three stages: the initial construction period prior to the completion of land reform, when political power was centered in the peasants' associations and closely related to land reform in the rural areas; the consolidation period, a period of experiment for the producers' co-operative movements, marked by a gradual shift of political power from the Peasants' association to the hsiang government, controlled by the Party; the election- and the post-Constitution periods when the continuous suppression of oppositions in the rural areas (during the elections of 1953-54) strengthened the foundation of Communist political power, and when such political power has been firmly entrenched in the government and the Party (during the post-Constit 'tion period).

1. Initial Construction: 1949-1952

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Communist leaders have constantly emphasized the political significance of land reform.[57] They regard it as a political struggle, and its very essence is conceived to be the abolition of the "feudal" system of landownership, the creation of a political force under Party control, and the establishment of "democratic authority." Teng Tzu-hui declared that

57. Liu Shao-Chi's report on land reform in Enlightenment Daily, June 30, 1950, p. 1; English text in The Agrarian Law of the Peoples' Republic of China, Peking, Foreign Language Press, 1950. Also Teng Tsu-hui's report, Yangtze Daily, Dec. 27 1950, p. 1.

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the political aim of the movement is to be placed above any economic aim.

Land reform is divided into three stages: preparation, execution, and re-examination. The preparatory stage is aimed at the liquidation of the existing holders of political power. The execution stage includes confiscation and redistribution of land in order to destroy the basis of the landlord class. During the re-examination stage, the foundation of new political power is laid.

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During the land reform period, political power in the rural area[58] rested upon: (1) the Party, (2) the Peasants' Association, (3) the hsiang government, (4) the militia, and (5) other mass organizations, notably the women's federations and youth organizations. Of these, the Peasant's Association and the militia, organized as instruments of terror, were of particular importance.

The chief task of the Peasant's Association was to incite people to action and to provide a receptive group which could be controlled by a small number of Party members. Poor peasants, farm laborers, and middle-class peasants constituted one-third of the membership; but the peasant's associations were

58. For reference, consult Kung-fei Ju-ho K'ung-chih Nung-ts'un Yü Ch'eng-shih [How the Communists Control Villages and Cities], Taipeh, 1954; also, Nung-ts'un Kung-ch'an-tang-yüan K'o-pen [Textbook for Rural Party Workers], Canton, Hua-nan, 1951.

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Table 1 indicates that the average size of farms in Kwangtung Province is only 6.7 shih-mou (1.1 acres), the smallest in Central-South China. The farms in Kiangsi Province rank first in average size, 14.9 shih-mou (2.5 acres), but these averages are substantially below the pre-war size of farms in Japan, which was 16.5 shih-mou (2.75 acres).[5]

III. THE LAND REFORM PROGRAM OF CENTRAL-SOUTH CHINA

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The Chinese Communists' Land Reform Movement followed a deliberate pattern, although methods of implementation varied from place to place, as when the techniques employed were modified in order to conform to special circumstances in different localities. The Land Reform Law in Central-South China was promulgated in July 1950. The law itself is too long to be discussed here, but it was on the basis of class differentiation that land redistribution was begun.[6] (For the methods used by the Chinese Communist Party in carrying out the land reform program, see Section V, "Communist Political Power in the Rural Area" in chapter on "Political Dynamics" of this handbook.)

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5. Wu Yuan-li, An Economic Survey of Communist China, New York, Bookman Associates, 1956, pp. 117-126.

6. The Agrarian Reform Law of the People Republic of China, Peking, Foreign Language Press, 1950.

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According to the "Report on the Work of the Central-South Military and Political Committee"[7] by Teng Tzu hui, the Communist deputy chairman, the masses of "hired hands," "poor peasants," and "middle peasants" of Central-South China had been subjected, over a long period of time to persecution and oppression had now become masters of the nation. During the first half of 1951, a campaign began to implement the basic principles, which called for reliance on "farm laborers" and "poor peasants," for unity with the "middle peasants," and neutralization of the "rich peasants" in order to wipe out the feudalistic "landlords." As a result, the redistribution of land in areas with an aggregate population of 68 million was completed between the winter of 1950 and the spring of 1951.

By the end of 1951, nearly 69 million shih-mou (11,500,000 acres) of land, 5 billion catties (2,500,000 tons) of grain, 784,000 head of cattle, more than 12 million farm implements, and more than 9 million houses and huts were "confiscated" or "requisitioned" for redistribution.[8] Based on an investigation of

7. Ch'ang-chiang Jih-pao [Yangtze Daily], Hankow, December 13, 1951.

8. Teng Tzu-hui, "Chung-nan Chün-cheng Wei-yüan-hui Pao-kao", "Report on the Work of the Central-South Military and Political Committee," Yangtze Daily, December 13, 1951.

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16 counties in four provinces in the region, the index of land-holdings of different classes of peasants and landlords after land reform, using the average land-holding per capita as 100, was distributed in the following manner.[9] 423 565

TABLE OF LANDHOLDING

Landholders	Index No.
Ex-landlords	80
Poor peasants and farm laborers	90
Middle peasants	110
Rich peasants	130
Small land lessors	150

Tu Jun-sheng, the Communist chairman of the Land Reform Committee of the Central-South China Military and Political Committee, reported that land reform was carried out in the Central-South China Region in accordance with the general policy of the Central People's Government. The Communists claimed that they had eliminated the feudal system of land ownership, that ex-landlords were given a chance to "reform themselves through labor," that the "poor peasants" and "farm laborers" were saved from poverty and given an opportunity to improve their livelihood, and

9. Ibid.

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that the "middle peasants" were given encouragement, to retain a part of the "rich peasant's" economy.[10]

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In order to determine whether the land reform has been "properly" carried out, the Land Reform Committee adopted a re-examination system. They started to re-examine the land holdings in over 1,100 hsiang. It was found that in nearly half of them the "reform" was not thorough enough, and that in the remaining half, it was "half raw," which propabably meant that the work was inefficient or lacking in thoroughness. As a matter of fact, some landlords were not classified as landlords at all. Consequently some ex-landlords began to clamor for the return of their confiscated property while others became difiant toward the land reform and chanted: "The sky may be red for three days, and the sky may be black for three days, but eventually we'll see it blue again;" or "Although our hat of poverty has been removed, our hat of grief is still on our heads."

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It is clear that the Communist cadres had encountered difficulties in carrying out the land reform. After the "re-examination" was completed in groups of villages during 1950, the cadres reported that the "defects"

10. Ibid.

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had been "corrected." In order to strengthen the work of re-examination, the following three tasks were urged: (1) re-check land distribution in relation to class status, (2) promote "mass democracy," and (3) enforce self-education among the cadres.

In 1953, the land reform in Central-South China, except in the minority nationalities areas in Kwangsi, was "basically completed." Its progress is shown below.

THE PROGRESS OF "LAND REFORM" IN CENTRAL-SOUTH CHINA

Period	(Population affected by land reform)
1949--spring, 1950	18,000,000
Spring, 1950--Summer, 1951	50,000,000
Summer, 1951--end of 1952	50,000,000
1953	12,000,000
Total	129,000,000

The progress of "land reform" was accelerated from spring 1950 to the end of 1952, the period when Red China participated in the Korean conflict. Two reasons accounted for this rapid advance. First, in order to support the North Koreans, tremendous manpower was needed for re-enforcement. Should the "land reform" program be completed earlier than scheduled, a strong militia

could be organized out of the surplus farm labor in order to serve in Korea. Second, in order to stabilize their political power in China Mainland, it was necessary for the Communists first to gain completed control of the rural masses, who constitute about 80 per cent of the entire population. The only weapon which the Communists could use was "land reform." 423

Generally speaking, the farm size, after "land reform," was more or less equalized. Although the average amount of land held per capita was a little over two shih-mou (1/3 acre) in Central-South China as a whole, in the over-populated areas, the per capita land holdings was even lower than the average.

Regarding the disposition of the ex-landlords, a set of new regulations, promulgated by the Kwangtung People's Government in January 1955, provided favorable treatment for the ex-landlord class among the overseas Chinese families.[11] The essential features of the "favorable treatment" are as follows:[12] (1) the period of "reform through labor" for 565 457

11. Ta-kung Pao [Ta-kung Daily], Hong Hong, January 23, 1955.
12. Ibid.